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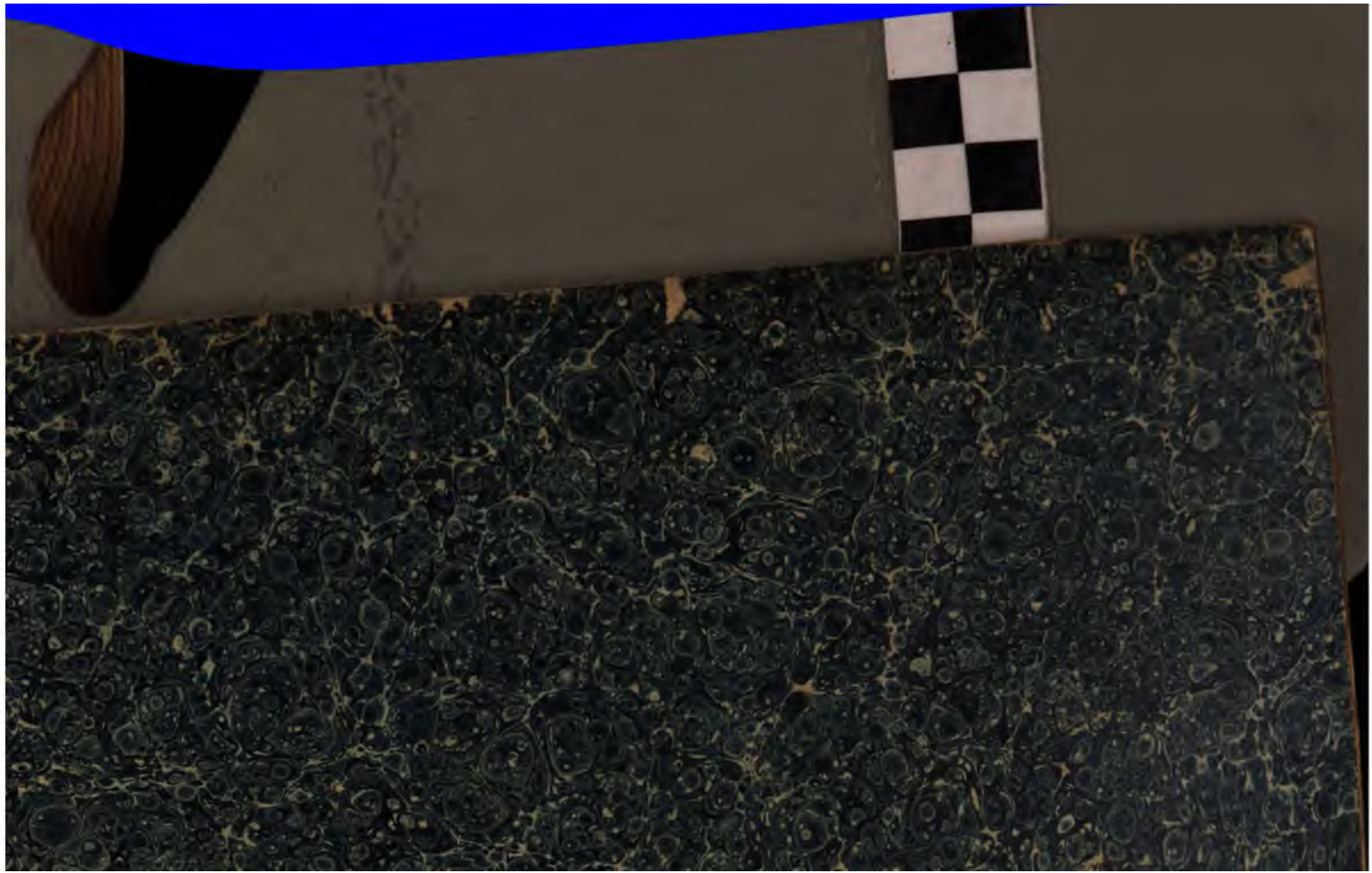

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# THE CHURCH

IN THE

# MIDDLE CENTURIES:

## AN ATTEMPT

TO

## ASCERTAIN THE AGE AND WRITER

OF THE

## CELEBRATED

# CODEX BOERNERIANUS.

J. Ingram.

"Nos generat mater, generamus nos quoque matrem."—MS. in marg. Vid. S. Aug. contra Don. I. 10—15.

OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY, FOR THE AUTHOR, AND SOLD BY

JOHN HENRY PARKER,

MDCCCXLII.

969.

# PREFACE.

THERE are some circumstances connected with the history of that singular Manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, called by Griesbach and other critics the "CODEX BOERNERIANUS," which have induced me to print some account of it. There is reason to believe that it was written on the coast of Devonshire, by an Irish or Hiberno-Saxon calligraphist, in the ninth century. Such a production must be considered by the philologist as a literary curiosity, and by the theologian as a valuable ecclesiastical document. The state of our church and literature at that time, as connected with Ireland and Rome, may in some degree be estimated by the character of this document; and it must be peculiarly interesting at this moment, when it is proposed to found an IRISH COLLEGIATE SCHOOL for the laudable purpose of instructing the clergy of the establishment in the native language and literature of Ireland. Nothing appears to be more seasonable and wise than such a design; and, if it should be successful, we may venture to predict that it will do more to

conciliate the Irish people than a hundred acts of parliament. When king Alfred, in the ninth century, aimed to secure the allegiance of his half-converted Christian subjects, and to confirm them in that rule of faith which they had partially professed and little understood, he gave them translations of the scriptures, the creeds, and the formularies of the church, in their vernacular tongue; which continued to be used till the Norman conquest, when a foreign yoke was imposed upon the whole nation. This they endured, though with occasional impatience, till the era of the Reformation. But it is still a lamentable fact, that in one of the most valuable provinces of the British empire the legally established system of religion is still counteracted by two opposite extremes; that there is no general conformity in doctrine and discipline; no union but in name. Let us hope that the time is not far distant, when a people described in the year 1773 as "not sufficiently impressed with fear, or reconciled by kindness *," will learn to subdue their animosities, and bury their prejudices in oblivion.

* Leland's Hist. of Ireland, II. 201. 4to. Lond. 1773.

# SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

# CODEX BOERNERIANUS.

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THE "CODEX BOERNERIANUS," of which Professor Matthæi, at the instigation of the celebrated Michaelis and others, printed and published a faithful transcript in the year 1791, appears to be not only of considerable antiquity itself, having been probably written about the middle of the *ninth* century, but to have been copied from another manuscript of the greatest antiquity, probably of the fifth or sixth century, or earlier; for it wonderfully agrees with the Mœso-Gothic fragment of the Epistle to the Romans translated by Ulphilas, (see particularly Rom. xvii. 12, xiv. 16,) with the MSS. of Clermont and St. Germain, and with many others which have been generally esteemed among the most ancient. It is valuable, also, as comprehending a sort of *variorum* copy of the corrupt Latin version which was in use before the time of St. Jerome,

commonly called "*Versio Italica*, or, *Ante-Hieronymiana*." It is remarkable for TWO important omissions, a circumstance which affords additional proof of its antiquity. First, it wants the Epistle to the Hebrews, which was considered very anciently, particularly in the Latin church, as of doubtful authority, and by some not ascribed to St. Paul. In the next place, the Epistle to the Romans wants that Doxology which appears in the present received text, and concludes with the simple benediction of the apostle, contained in the 24th verse, Η χαρις του Κυριου ημων μετα παντων υμων. AMHN. From the unskilful manner in which the words and syllables are separated from each other, it is evident that the Greek text of this Codex, though very corrupt, was copied from one of the highest antiquity, in which the lines were boldly penned in continued capitals, without any break or division, except at the end of a line or paragraph. It is also, like its supposed original, written without accents.

Dr. Charles Frederick Boerner, from whom the Codex has its present name, anxious perhaps to extol the antiquity of a MS. which he was happy to possess, considered it as written before the *seventh* century *. But, as he has given no reason for this opinion, and there are many proofs of the contrary, the opinion of Kuster and Hoffmann, and

* This may be true with respect to the time of the original Codex, but it cannot be assumed to be the date of the transcript.

others, who ascribe to it an antiquity of about eight hundred years or more from their time, appears to be much nearer the truth. There are two or three peculiar circumstances of which these Biblical critics have taken but little notice, which seem, however, to determine the age of this MS. beyond a doubt. The frequent occurrence of the words "*Contra Græcos*" in the margin (if the marginal notes be allowed to have been written about the same time as the text, which may be said perhaps of the greatest part of them) seems to indicate the period, when those controversies were agitated with so much warmth and animosity between the Greeks and Latins, which ended in the total separation of the Greek from the Latin church towards the close of the ninth century. Many texts are also marked with the words "Contra Goddiscalcon" in the margin, partly in Greek and partly in Roman characters, as militating against the doctrines of *Godescalcus*, or *Gothescalcus*, a persevering heretic and monk of the same century, whose works on the Predestinarian Controversy caused great alarm and disturbance among the orthodox believers. From the note of Matthæi, (p. 102,) it appears he was quite ignorant of the person here intended; though he was aware that it was a proper name, "quod Germani dicunt Gottschalck." This name signifies in the ancient Teutonic and Gothic, and in the old German, Belgic, Danish, and Saxon lan-

guages, "a good servant," or, "the servant of God." "Sed de quo hujus nominis homine," says the learned editor, "hic sermo sit, *ignoro*. Infra aliquoties idem nomen recurrit." It is rather surprising that so diligent a scholar should have overlooked the history of this distinguished champion of heresy, whose name is connected with those of his great antagonists, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, and Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, two of the most famous writers of the ninth century. The three Epistles of the latter *against Gothescalcus* are still extant, a copy of which, edited by Father Sirmond, is in the Bodleian Library. The texts which are marked are very strong against Godescalcus, particularly 1 Tim. ii. 4, iv. 10. His leading tenets were these: "That GOD destined the reprobate to DAMNATION, as well as the elect to GLORY; and therefore, as he was the principle of GOOD actions, so he was also author of EVIL." For these tenets he was ordered by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, to be divested of his priesthood, beaten till he threw his writings into the fire, and then cast into prison; where he died, still persisting to the last moment in his opinions; for which reason he was treated as an excommunicated person, being deprived of the benefit of the holy eucharist at his death, and considered as unworthy of Christian burial. A vast deal concerning him may be seen in Gene-

brard, Baronius, and others, and in the History of the Councils of that period*. "Contra Rufum," (p. 44,) contracted perhaps for "*Contra Rufinum*," is a marginal note of reference, which occurs more than once, probably copied by the transcriber from the old MS., and seems to denote a text against Rufinus, priest of Aquileia, with whom St. Jerome is known to have carried on a controversy concerning the works of Origen; his admiration of which was the cause of the rupture between him and Jerome, who afterwards treated him as a lost heretic, and the precursor of Pelagius and his deluded adherents. He died about the beginning of the *fifth* century. The names of Phorphirius, (Porphyry,) Fergus, Gunthard, (Guntharius, or GUNTER,) Angelbertus, Marcus Monachus, (called also Anachoreta,) Aganus, Cogan, Hartg'hilda, (a widow, as it appears,) and some others, which are seen in the margin, though they cannot be said to throw much additional light on the history of this Codex, afford at least some presumptive proofs of its antiquity, and of the antiquity of the MS. from which it was copied.

* See also "Hist. de Rheims, par M. Anquetil," Tom. I. p. 117, No. 848. There is a work by Archbishop Usher, entitled "Goteschalci, et Prædestinarianæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ, Historia," published in 1631 at Dublin, 4to, and said to be the first Latin book ever printed in Ireland.

Grotius writes in praise of the work of Hincmar against this predestinarian heretic, in his Epistle to his brother, Lutet. 10 Oct. 1643. J. Scotus also wrote against him.

GUNTHARIUS, a bishop of Tours, is mentioned by GREGORY, the historian, as one of his predecessors in that see in the sixth century. He had been an abbot, and afterwards consecrated a bishop. Upon a calm consideration of the whole matter, after a careful comparison of the conflicting opinions of critics and commentators with the internal evidence, it appears probable that the original Codex, of which this is a transcript, was of the FIFTH or SIXTH century, and that the transcript itself is of the NINTH.

An anecdote is preserved by Dr. Boerner and his son respecting the history of this Codex, which is curious and interesting. The great Dr. Bentley, when about to publish an edition of the Greek Testament with the Latin vulgate version as corrected by St. Jerome, having requested the loan of the MS. from its then possessor, had it sent to him into England in the year 1719, on condition of his returning it within the space of two years. When the time arrived, the learned critic was unwilling to surrender so valuable a manuscript, and offered two hundred guineas to be the purchaser of it. At length, after five years had elapsed, by the entreaties and endeavours of Dr. Nicholas Clagett, chaplain to the earl of Sunderland, afterwards dean of Rochester and bishop of St. David's, who had been a voucher for the restoration of it, the precious deposit was returned to its owner.

The objections which Bengelius, Ch. B. Micha-

elis, and others, first urged against the antiquity and authority of this Codex, have been examined and refuted. In short, Semler had the candour to retract his opinion in these words: "Fui autem et ipse nuper adhuc in hac sententia, quæ est *plerorumque* doctorum virorum. Sed non licet mihi amplius eam tenere, aut hunc codicem et Græco-Latinos tam vehementer aspernari." ..... "Codices isti quatuor, D. E. F. G. sunt Græco-Latini, quos solent contemnere; sed facile tandem patebit, magno in honore a nobis habendos esse, qui servant *alius vetustioris recensionis* multa præclara monumenta." In Edit. Libell. Wetsteinii ad Crisin, &c. Halæ, 1766. 8vo.

Dr. Boerner bought this Codex for a considerable sum at the sale of the books of professor Frank, or Franks, of Amsterdam. It is now in the Electoral Library at Dresden. Vid. Relat. et Judicia doct. vir. pag. vii. ed. MATTHÆI.

Professor Matthæi observes, at the end of his animadversions on the transcript, (p. 113,) that although he had met with no less than three thousand MSS. in various countries, he never saw one like this! The fact probably is, that it was transcribed by a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland. "In Britannia scriptum fuisse videtur," is the remark of several critics. Many even of the Greek characters are precisely such as are found in the Anglo-Saxon MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries. Ealdred's gloss to the Durham book in the British Museum bears a striking similarity

to it. It may safely be classed among the MSS. of the Anglo-Hibernian school, such as were copied in the *ninth* century* by *Sedulius Scottus*, i. e. *Hiberniensis*, as he is properly called by Montfaucon. Vid. Palæogr. Gr. p. 235. The resemblance between this MS. and one written by Sedulius, of which a fac-simile is given by Montfaucon, (p. 237,) has been already noticed by professor Matthæi, the learned editor of the transcript. This is a Greek Psalter, of which Montfaucon says, "Forma literarum aliquid *peregrini* olet," &c. Wetstein, in his Prolegomena, mentions a Græco-Latin PSALTER in the library of Basle, which he thinks was written in Ireland about the same time. The Latin version in this copy is written over the Greek lines in Anglo-Saxon characters. The same were used, it must be remembered, in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, for many centuries; and even so late as Archbishop Parker's time they continued to be used in Ireland, with little variation; as may be seen by the printed books. The Irish Prayer-Book of 1608 is printed in similar characters †.

But the most remarkable circumstance attending this MS. is, that in folio xxiij., underneath

* These observations, though now first printed, were written many years before professor Leonard Hug's work appeared, in which he infers a date corresponding with that here suggested.

† See "Inaugural Lecture on the Utility of A. S. Literature," &c. Oxford, 1807, 4to, pp. 42, 43.

the Græco-Latin text, is a vernacular epigraphe of the scribe, consisting of three lines in a very small character, which have hitherto baffled all conjecture. The learned editor, however, considered them to be of such importance, that he selected this page with another for the copper-plate illustrations. The following is his note on the subject:

"Fol. 23, p. 1.—Scriba codicis, qui neque Græcus neque Latinus videtur fuisse, hic quædam lingua vernacula sua videtur adjecisse, quæ qualis fuerit, aliis dijudicandum relinquimus. Mihi certe ænigmate obscurior est."—C. F. Matthæi not. in loc. fol. 102 *.

It is observable that the word "Scotti" is affixed to the margin opposite to the names of Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia, in the last chapter of the second Epistle to Timothy; as if these early converts then at Rome were claimed by the writer as of Scottish origin. They are generally supposed to have been British captives carried to Rome. The Scots and Picts, we must recollect, occupied a considerable portion of Great Britain in early times.

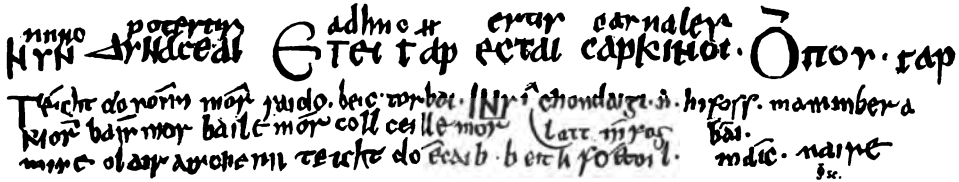
* C. G. Hoffmann, writing in 1764, informs us that Dr. Boerner purchased this MS. by auction from the library of professor Franks, A. D. 1700. See the editor's account of it, Præf. p. iv.; said to have been published at the suggestion of Michaelis and others. In Kuster's account of it, in 1710, it is said to have been written in Britain. Vid. p. viij., xj., &c. Ed. Matthæi.

Having every reason to believe this epigraphe of the scribe to be of some importance to the elucidation of the age and locality of the manuscript, as well as an interesting fragment of an ancient dialect of the Celtic family of languages, probably Hiberno-Celtic, I have procured a facsimile to be made of it, and have ventured also to offer a free translation in Latin and English to the consideration of the learned. I am the more induced to do this, because an Irish gentleman, agreeing with me as to the Irish * character of the epigraphe, by understanding a few words differently, omitting others, and having recourse to *subaudition*, has given a turn to the passage which tends to favour the exploded doctrine of pilgrimages to Rome!—"It is profitable to go to Rome, the great seat [of the church,"] &c.

* I call it IRISH, though it appears to be different from the mere Irish; being a fragment of an Anglo-Hibernian or Hiberno-Saxon dialect. Sir Frederick Madden has noticed in terms of high commendation certain manuscripts which belong to the Hiberno-Saxon school of art. See his learned notes and introduction to Mr. Shaw's ILLUMINATED ORNAMENTS. London, Pickering, 1833. The pages of Dr. O'Connor, as he observes, may also be consulted, in his prefatory volume to the "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores," for a more detailed account of this Hiberno-Saxon school, which flourished chiefly from the sixth to the ninth century.

## FAC-SIMILE OF THE CODEX BOERNERIANUS, Fol. 23;

A MS. SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AT TORBAY IN THE NINTH CENTURY.



*Conjectural Reading suggested in mere Irish.*

Teacht do roim mor saido beic torbai . . . . . .
Mor bais mor baile mor coll ceille mor . . . . . .
mire olair (or eolair) airchine teacht do écaib beith fo foil maic maire

*In Anglo-Saxon Characters.*

Teícht do roím mór saido. beic torbai. INrî chondaigi. n. hi foss manimbera
Mór baís mór baile mór coll ceille mór (latt in fog bái.
mire ol air airchern teicht do êcaib. beith fóstoil. maíc naire.

*The same in Roman Type.*

Teícht do Roím mór saido. beic Torbai. INrî chondaigi. n. hi foss manimbera
Mór baís mór baile mór coll ceille mór (latt in fog bái.
mire ol air airchern teicht do êcaib. beith fóstoil. maíc naire.

## LATIN TRANSLATION.

"Hoc opus, diligenter compositum, ut ad Romam mittatur, scriptum est ad latus (Britanniæ) maritimum, prope sinum TORBAI nuncupatum. Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum salvum det ei conductum. Nec hostilem Infidelium turbam sinat abripere inter nebulosas sinus procellas—procellas maritimi sinus—maris turbines—maris culmina—maris miracula et monstra quamplurima, quæ cursum ejus avertere possint. Ita ad omne ævum precatur FOSTOIL MAC-NAIRE."

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

"Prepared to be sent to Rome from the seaside by Torbay. May Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews, give it safe conduct; and not let the false man bear it away—

In the fogs of the bay—
Amid the waves of the sea—
Sea walls and sea whirlwinds—
Sea monsters and mermaids—

To turn it aside from the place of its destination. So for ever beggeth Fostoil Mac-Naire."

J. I.

Trinity College, June 7, 1842.